1: Burrows--130 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 622 Ifalik

"In Ifalik, matters of public concern, except for most of the religious ones, are administered by five chiefs, who hold office by virtue of hereditary rank."

1: Burrows--131-132 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 622 Ifalik

"The following table shows the order of rank among the chiefs, the clans in which they descend, and the names of the individuals holding these titles during our stay on the atoll in 1947-8. The official titles of the chiefs, except for those in SauvelārIk clan, are the same as the names of their clans. Apparently the names of these particular clans, as discussed on p. 89-90, originated as titles. I never heard titles for the two chieftainships in SauvelārIk clan, and the name of that clan is not, like the others, a title. Indeed, the other titles are now used only as clan names. Although it is said to be proper to address the paramount chief as 'Kovalū', the third as 'Mangaulevār', and the fifth as 'Rapevalū', I never heard this done. There is no way to test the suggestion that this was customary at some former time, unless this custom proved to be general among surrounding islands of related culture, which would of course support the suggestion. Whatever may have been the former custom, nowadays the use of these titles in address is obsolete, so far as our observation goes.

Order of Rank	Clan	Title	Holder in 1947-8
1.	Kovalū	Kovalū	Wolpetau
2.	SauvelārIk	?	Maroligar
3.	Mangaulevar	Mangaulevār	Paliuilimar (died 1948)
4.	SauvelārIk	?	WolpaitIk
5.	Rapevelū	Rapevelū	Toromann

1: Burrows--131-132 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 622 Ifalik

[132] In addition, Fagaurateu of Sauwēl was credited with a unique status as a sort of sub-chief. Tom said this position was called by the same name (tamōl) as that of the five full-fledged chiefs. Yet Fagarateu did not meet with them, nor sit with them on public occasions. His position seems to exemplify the traditional role ascribed to Sauwēl men--to act as errand-runners and subordinate executives for the chiefs. This was the only trace found of this role in current practise; and even this was only nominal, so far as observed. Being old and in poor health, Fagaurateu seemed not to exercise any of the authority accredited to him."

1: Burrows--136-137 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 622 Ifalik

"Several points in this elaboration of rank--particularly the awe of ancestral chiefs shown in the respect for the old site at Katēlū, and the formalities about turtle--suggest the Polynesian complex of chieftainship. There, chiefs commonly traced their ancestry to gods,--indeed, the most influential gods, or some of them, seem to have been deified chiefly ancestors. And living chiefs were thought to embody some of this divinity. As for turtle, in more than one part of Polynesia it was offered to the paramount chief explicitly in his divine capacity.

It seems highly probable that the chieftainship complex of [137] Polynesia and that exemplified by Ifalik are historically related. But it is clear that in Ifalik, though native religion still flourishes, the respect shown to chiefs does not include attribution of divinity to them. The oracles of the gods are typically not chiefs. Chiefs do not trace their descent from the gods--in fact, divine genealogies are patrilineal, human ones matrilineal, and both very brief. Except in association with Katēlū, ghosts of chiefs seem no more important than any other ghosts. In sum, religion on Ifalik does not support government in this particular way. As to what process brought about this difference with Polynesia--whether chieftainship in Ifalik has fallen from a former high estate, or chieftainship in Polynesia has been elevated by local development--that could only be determined, if at all, by careful comparative study."

1: Burrows--137-139 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-5
116, 622 Ifalik

"Succession to chieftainship is determined by primogeniture in the female line. Asked for a more exact statement of the rule of succession, the chiefs conferred and issued, through Tom, a series of choices, given below with the comment that seems necessary to explain them.

(1) When a chief dies, the first choice for a successor is a 'brother'. Tom said 'brother' as the only term in English to translate bwisīl. Actually, as shown in the discussion of kinship terms, this one (given there as bwisī, with 1st person possessive suffix instead of that for 3d person) applies not only to siblings of the same sex, but also to more distant relatives in the female line, --to all recognized relatives of the same lineage, sex, and genealogical generation. So this statement includes a range of choices. First would be a true brother; and among brothers, the oldest surviving one. Next would be mother's sisters' sons, with priority to the eldest son of the eldest sister; and so on, as far as kinship is recognized. As a rule, as has been noted, it is recognized only within the lineage. And as the lineage groups (living members of a lineage) are small, the usual extension of kinship terms does not take in a very wide range of relationships.

(2) If no 'brother' is available, next choice will be a 'sister's son' (vatu wei). This term is also applied to more than sons of sisters. The sons of women whom we would call parallel cousins or orthocousins of the deceased chief, on his mother's side, would also be eligible; for the chief would speak of any of them as 'my sister' (moengai); and

the term for 'son' would be used in a similarly extended sense by all of these 'sisters', So, in effect, any man of the chief's lineage, but one generation younger as generations are reckoned genealogically, would be eligible as a vatu wei. In practise, the term is not commonly extended beyond true sisters' sons and the sons of mother's sisters' daughters.

(3) If no 'sister's son' is available, the choice will pass to a son, (laŭ). This statement was a surprise, as a man's sons, or the nephews to whom the same term would be applied, are not of his lineage or even of his clan. When asked about this, Tom said that a son was a possible successor because he was of the same 'house' as the chief. The word for 'house' in this connection, he continued, would be im, the ordinary word for dwelling. He knew of no instance in which a chief had been succeeded by a laŭ. So this statement may have little or no practical significance.

(4) If none of the preceding choices is possible, the chief will be succeeded by 'some other relative.' Again it is questionable whether in practise succession would be, or ever need be, extended to such rather remote relatives. [138]

Because the people of Ifalik do not cherish genealogies, and can not trace relationships farther than their memory of living persons, the only specific cases of succession obtainable were those involving the chiefs in office during our stay. Each knew his own relationship to his immediate predecessor. Some of these statements were confirmed, from memory, by others. In the case of the two highest-ranking chiefs they could cite

names of earlier chiefs in order of succession; but did not know the relationships involved.

Wolpetau, No. 1 chief, was a 'brother', in the extended sense, of his predecessor Mul. Their mothers were true sisters.

Maroligar, No. 2 chief, was a sister's son of his predecessor, Bwongalimoi.

Paliuilimar, No. 3 chief, was a sister's son of his predecessor.

WolpaitIk, no. 4 chief, was a true brother of his predecessor; 'same father, same mother.'

Toromann, No. 5 chief, was a brother of his predecessor.

Succession in three of these cases followed the choice named first in the list announced by the chiefs. In the other two cases it followed the choice named as second. There is little doubt that these two choices provide a successor to a deceased chief in most instances.

Two limitations on succession were exemplified when the third-ranking title was vacated, shortly before we left Ifalik, by the death of the chief Paliuilimar. Though the matter may not have been entirely settled when we left, we were told that no successor to the title would be named for the time being, as no suitable person was available. If all members of Paliuilimar's clan, Mangauvelar, had been considered eligible, a suitable successor would have been available. But Tom explained that

within the clan, some were 'more high', others 'more down,' and that only the 'more high' could succeed to the chieftainship. Apparently this meant that succession is confined to the lineage. This is a typical example of the fact that the people do not clearly conceptualize lineages, even when in actual practise they observe distinctions among lineages. Typically, then, succession is limited to the senior lineage, except in SauvelārIk clan, which has two titles, so that members of two lineages in that clan may become chiefs.

The other limitation followed by not naming a successor to Paliuilimar was one of sex. There was a woman of suitable age in Paliuilimar's lineage. And it is said that women may become chiefs. No specific instance was found, and--unless there was a change after we left--this woman was not considered suitable. Whether female chiefs are entirely a thing of the past, or whether the elevation of a woman to chieftainship is still possible in exceptional cases, only time can tell.

One other qualification, a matter of personal character, was mentioned in general discussions of chieftainship. The quality emphasized is courtesy, already mentioned as one of the master-values. Kindly speech from a chief is so highly valued that it is believed to confer long life on his people, while evil speech from a chief may mean death to them. So if a man otherwise eligible for chieftainship has a reputation for 'bad talk', he may be passed over, and the title conferred on one of his juniors who keeps a civil tongue in his head. In accordance with the general principle that the chiefs

interpret the rules, the [139] actual decision in such a case would be left to the chiefs in council. No actual instance was cited.

It is not practicable to leave the title of highest-ranking chief vacant, because final authority in matters of general importance belongs to this position. So when the senior line of descent in Kovalū clan fails, the senior chief of SauvelārIk clan, who ordinarily ranks No. 2, may take the No. 1 position. This had actually happened within the memory of our informants. Oraitiu, a Kovalū chief, was lost at sea during the typhoon of 1907, when he was returning from a visit to Lamotrek. In default of a suitable successor in the Kovalū line, he was succeeded as No. 1 chief by Daoreligar of SauvelārIk clan. Daoreligar was paramount chief in 1909, when Sarfert visited Ifalik. His successor, too, was a SauvelārIk man, Bwongalimoi (he whose name appeared in Japanese characters on the ŌngarIk). On the death of Bwongalimoi, though, the title reverted to Kovalū in the person of Mulelimar, commonly known as Mul. He was the immediate predecessor of Wolpetau, paramount chief during our stay."

1: Burrows--139-140 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 622 Ifalik

"Matters of concern to the whole atoll are decided by the five chiefs in council. Matters of concern only to one locality are allotted to one or two chiefs, each of whom has some local jurisdiction. Three accounts of this local division of authority agree both as to the general pattern and some of the details, but differ in other details. One version was given by Wolpetau, the paramount chief and presumably best authority; but this was early during our stay on the island, and Tom was not present to interpret, so I may have misunderstood some points. The second was given by Maroligar and one other chief (my notes fail to specify which one, and I can not trust to memory) with Tom interpreting. The third is made up of answers given by Tom at different times, to a variety of specific questions.

All agree that Wolpetau, ranking No. 1, and WolpaitIk, ranking No. 4, have charge of Falālap. Wolpetau said that he had charge of Ievang, WolpaitIk of Iauru. This division was not mentioned by the others, but at least was not denied, so can be taken as correct. Absence of mention of this point by Maroligar or Tom apparently reflects a gap in my questioning. It may also reflect the fact, already brought out, that the division of Falālap into two districts is not very important. The only time we saw this local authority exercised--when a dog bit Spiro, in Ievang (p. 149-50)--the two chiefs acted together.

Authority over Rauau district is divided, and accounts differ as to which chiefs are in charge. Wolpetau said that the rulers of Rauau were Wolpetau, Maroligar, and

Toromann. Maroligar gave the list as Maroligar, Paliuilimar, and Toromann. The difference may be one between theory and practise. Whatever Wolpetau's nominal authority, he did not trouble to exercise it, so far as I could observe. Neither did Paliuilimar. Not only were these two the most aged of the chiefs, but neither lived in Rauau. Wolpetau lived in distant Iauru, Paliuilimar in Falārlk. Both came frequently to Katēlū in Rauau district, to attend chiefs' meetings; but usually left for home as soon as the meetings were over. If they took part in the local affairs of Rauau--which were of a routine sort, while we were there--it must have been only as consultants. The active chiefs in Rauau were the two who lived there, and whose names appear on both lists: Maroligar and Toromann. As between the two, Toromann's role was distinctly subordinate. He was not lacking in ability or initiative. But one of the points that attest his [140] intelligence is his clear understanding of the limits of his authority, as lowest-ranking of the chiefs. He knew his place, and never overstepped its boundaries.

Asked which chief had charge of Falārlk district, Wolpetau only laughed quietly; disparagingly, it seemed to me, as if to imply that Falārlk was beneath the notice of a chief. Maroligar's answer was not incompatible. He named Fagaurateu of Sauwēl clan as ruler of Falārlk district. Fagaurateu was not a chief, but held the unique position of sub-chief. These two answers presumably express the official position. Tom, at a later time, said that Paliuilimar was in charge of Falārlk. This may have been true in practise, for Paliuilimar lived in Falārlk, and was the only chief who did; so presumably

he would be consulted about any local problem. A still later entry in my notes, based on another comment of Tom, says 'It seems that Maroligar has authority over Falărlk, too.' The situation seems to be that Fagaurateu was nominally in charge; but he, besides being inferior in rank to the chiefs, was old, sick, and perhaps senile. Under the circumstances, any chief--but particularly Paliuflimar, who lived in Falărlk district, and Maroligar, highest-ranking and most active resident of Falărlk island--might well intervene whenever it seemed advisable.

Local division of authority among the chiefs seems, on the whole, rather elastic. Yet one statement by Wolpaitlk suggests that individual chiefs are held responsible by the other chiefs, for the condition of the districts they control. The statement was in answer to one of a schedule of questions to bring out psychological characteristics. The particular question was aimed at sources of worry or anxiety. Wolpaitlk said that one thing he worried about was that the other chiefs might criticise him for the condition of his district. (Wolpaitlk was the junior, in age and length of service, of all the chiefs, as well as being next to the bottom in rank; so he might well have been more sensitive on this point than a more experienced man.)"

"Maroligar took charge of the bonito drives in the lagoon, in which the whole population took part. My question about the meaning of this, in terms of division of authority, led to a discussion which is all I have in the way of evidence on the formation of policy. So it will be discussed in the following section.

Formulation of Rules

Concrete evidence as to the initiation of rules of conduct is scanty to very near the vanishing point. The rules are traditional, and their origin is lost in the past. On that point, I can not improve on Tom's answer to all such questions: 'blong before'.

The one possible glimpse of how rules are modified was the answer to my question about Maroligar's authority over the bonito drives. Tom, always the most convenient source of information, was asked first. He said that Sauvelārlk clan has charge of the reef and the lagoon. While ordinarily members of other clans are allowed to fish there, they do so only on sufferance, said he. Supervision of the bonito drive by Maroligar, senior Sauvelārlk chief, was one manifestation of this general prerogative.

Asked if other clans had similar rights, Tom said he did not know, and suggested referring the question to the chiefs. That was obviously the thing to do anyway; for while his statement sounded plausible, it was suspect because of [141] his continual attempts to lay claim to glory, whether by way of his membership in Sauvelārlk clan or by any other means that occurred to him.

At the moment only two chiefs were available; Maroligar and Toromann. The question was referred to them. They talked it over and decided to submit it to all the chiefs. Their reason, Tom explained, was 'Some other chief might say 'This chief 'e lie'.' Plainly this claim of one clan to special authority was a touchy matter.

Next day all five chiefs discussed the question long and seriously. This fact strengthens my suspicion that Tom's statement had some foundation. Otherwise, presumably, they would have dismissed it at once. But their answer gave no suggestion of this. They instructed Tom to tell me that the reef and lagoon belong to all five chiefs together, not to any one clan. Ordinarily it is permissible for anyone to use them. But if the chiefs decide to restrict their use, fishing can be carried on only by their permission. It is the same with the land, they said (disregarding an important difference, that arable land is divided into patches, owned by separate lineages). Ordinarily people may eat the fruits of the land as they please. But in time of shortage--for example, after a hurricane--the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little.' In other words, the chiefs asserted their authority to ration food.

If this answer, as I suspect but can not prove, involved abrogation of a traditional allotment of authority to one clan, it would constitute legislation by the chiefs. Whether this is indeed an instance or not, the obvious way, and the only apparent way in which rules can be modified or new rules initiated under this form of government, is by decree of the chiefs after such discussions. When a situation arises which is not covered by

the rules, or not covered satisfactorily, the chiefs will have to decide it according to their best judgment. Their decision will constitute a precedent, to stand until some new problem requires further modification."

1: Burrows--141-142 (1947-48) Woleaians 1.2
116, 622, 468, 152 Ifalik

"While the chiefs have final decision, there is nothing to prevent any individual from requesting or suggesting a new ruling, or even setting up by some unconventional act a situation which may require one. Again I have one possible example, but no trustworthy evidence as to how novel this situation may have been, beyond the fact that it was unique in our brief experience. As in a good deal of the available evidence about the process of government, our presence was indirectly involved. We were a considerable irritant to the body politic.

Tom was assigned by the chiefs to devote his full time to working for us as interpreter. The activities to which he would have ordinarily devoted this time--helping to feed his household, working on his new canoe--were to be taken over by others. On October 15, Tom went on strike. He announced that he would not work for us that day or the next, but would work on his canoe. His reason was not any objection to us or our tratment of him, but the fact that nobody had been working on his canoe for days. If he had to spend all his time with us, he said, his canoe never would be finished.

Conceivably this was the first strike on Ifalik, although, as already said, there is no evidence as to this. What is certain is that it was the only example in our experience of open defiance of the orders of the chiefs. Tom went so far as to criticize the chiefs for not issuing orders to men to work on the canoe--or not issuing them often enough to keep the men on the job. He showed [142] not only a short temper, as compared with the mildness usual on Ifalik, but also considerable courage.

The response of the chiefs was not to issue a command or decree. Nor did they punish Tom for his temerity. Following the general rule of courtesy, they were quite conciliatory. They reasoned with Tom, and persuaded him to reduce his abstention from work for us to one day. The two junior chiefs, WolpaitIk and Toromann, themselves helped him work on the canoe that day, and several younger men appeared. The work seemed to go somewhat better from then on. In other words, Tom won his strike. But it cost him a good deal of emotional stress. About noon on his day of strike, Spiro found him much disgruntled. Not only had the chiefs disapproved of his conduct, however gently; his wife had scolded him, apparently more emphatically, for deserting us. 'Too much talk', Tom said.

The chiefs' mild policy worked well. The strike was limited to one day, and--what was of great importance on Ifalik--there were no hard feelings. By implication, the chiefs had promulgated a rule of conduct, whether or not it was a new one. They had acknowledged the 'right to strike'."

1: Burrows--200 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 622 Ifalik

"The sentiment of rank is another that kept cropping up in the preceding pages. In the chapter on Social Structure it was evident in the order of rank of the clans; in that on Government, in the order of rank of the chiefs, whose titles confer rank on their clans. Rank may be called the mainstay of the native system of government. It is emphasized in the richest visible symbolism found in the culture, culminating in the front post (ʻongarIk) of the men's house, Katēlū. The public meetings, in addition to their practical functions, serve as rituals to emphasize the dignity of the chiefs and the duty of loyalty to them. One of the strictures apparently common in the chiefs' harangues on these occasions--'Don't talk disparagingly about the people of another clan'--shows how this sentiment can become invidious. There would be no need to forbid such talk if there was none of it."

2: Damm et al. --78-79 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 622 Ifaluk

The lesser chief is a kind of representative of the head chief. He has to oversee everything, and give an account to the head. [79]

The two lesser chiefs execute the orders of the head chief. They call the population together in the men's house, organize the big fishing expeditions and superintend the construction of the men's house.

4: Krämer--115 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 622 Elato

Hambruch learned the following on Elato: two chiefs rule over the island, the head chief, tamŏl oi i lap, Mailipue and the assistant chief, tamŏl i gitegit, O'Mairang; after him follows the ou rongäre tamŏl; previously it was the deceased Saporóu, but now it is his brother Djigedjügol.

4: Krämer--206-207 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1 2
116, 103, 622, 614 Woleai

Villages and Chiefs and sibs

Island:	Villages:	Chiefs:
1. Voléa:	Davokúol (a house)	Malitil
or Falalap	Jefang	Gadjegélog
god Eángelaf	Lúgulap	
	Vésavo	
	Jaur	Eagupelíor
	Lolepéleg	Gadjegélog lived
	(Born Leuleperik)	here in 1910
2. Máriong:	Távagap	
	Ledjódjoi	Gafelélimar(was on Yap)
	Távoat	
3. Tagaulap or Thogóelep	no villages	Tórong
Thogóelep	Unamarai	Rógiol
4. Solúap:	Fáratai	
	Lugaséliap	Gafeleitop
	Jumanikil [207]	
5. Vótagai:	Dávogap	Uolegar
on the reef cap	Nikapelám (Hellwig:	Igélimar
former main island	Ligábpidam)	

4: Krämer--206-207
116, 103, 622, 614

6. Falális: "spirit land"

7. Raur †

8. Paliau †

(1909) 1937

Bigol(Bugol) (Hellwig: Pügod)
Tavokúdu
Tavokúdak
Davokulong
Logop, Lúgalapraur
Kuoi

Woleaians-2
Woleai

Mativelit

Málangau
Málipet

Daruéliort

Erurlíelit

12: Lutke--129-130
116, 177, 609, 622

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Elato

To our great surprise we were not met here, as in the other places; we only saw one canoe on the water and it did not appear particularly anxious to communicate with us. When we hove to the natives tacked around us at a respectful distance and without paying attention to our signals of invitation; my passengers [AN: natives of Lamotrek], were too pleased with their gifts and their biscuits to bother much about the canoe. I was afraid that they might cause us delay and so I told them that I was going to start immediately for Ouleaf and that they would have to come with me if the canoe did not take them. This announcement produced an effect; they began to gesticulate, and finally the canoe drew along side. It held the tamol of the group, a big fat man, who knew a few words of Spanish; [130] I hastened to give him some presents, so that he would not tarry long; for I was anxious to complete my survey of these groups before nightfall. Finally, after making a few difficulties, he took the whole group, but they had a hard time to find places in the canoe.

28: Spiro--9 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 631, 622 Ifalik

"Ifaluk is one of eight small islands in the Central Carolines, all of whom recognize their political subservience to the island of Yap, and more particularly to the Gagil district on Yap. There seems to be two traditions that account for this subservience as far as Ifaluk is concerned. Dr. Burrows was informed that Ifaluk was originally populated by settlers from Gagil, with the result that Ifaluk looks to Gagil as its mother country. This Yap colonization presumably holds true for the other small islands as well. In discussing religion with the chiefs, I received another tradition, however. The Ifaluk creation story has it that when Autran, the primordial mother goddess, created man, she first created the people of Gagil, then those of the island of Mogmog in the atoll of Ulithi, and then the people of Ifaluk, and finally the people of the other islands. However, the traditions might differ, they both agree that Gagil occupies first rank in the native 'international' hiearchy, followed by Mogmog, with Ifaluk running a close third. It is of importance to note, however, that relative prestige is verbalized in terms of the prestige of the chiefs, rather than in terms of the respective peoples. That is, Yap is 'more high' because the Gagil chief is of preeminent importance, and Mogmog and Ifaluk occupy high positions because of the high positions of their chiefs."

28: Spiro--14 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622 Ifalik

"The domestic political life on Ifaluk is characterized by hereditary chieftanship, of which there are five. Since Ifaluk is a matrillineal society, a chief inherits his office from his mother's brother, and transmits it to his sister's son. The five chiefs are formally ranged in a descending hierarchy, being designated as 'chief number one, number two, etc.' but in actual practice it is next to impossible to discover any functional differences between them, either in terms of responsibility or of privilege. The number of chiefs (tamon), and the lineages from which chiefs are chosen was already ordained by Autran, when she created the people of Ifaluk. (1)"

"1. The clans and lineages from which the chiefs are chosen, with the names of the current chiefs, in descending order of rank, are:

Wolptau: Kovalu--Ulepi
Maroligar: Sauvelarik--Somat
Wolpaitik: Sauvelarik--Falitre
Paluelimar: Mangaulevar--Linoa (Palueimar died shortly before our departure from Ifaluk. His household was abandoned because of much illness, the lineage split up, and I do not know who his ultimate successor will be.)"
Taroman: Rapevelu--Valevelu

"Though informality characterizes Ifaluk culture, some attempt is made to give some formal training to the future chief. A chief will select his most likely successor, when he is in his early teens, at the latest, and will instruct him in the duties and responsibilities of chieftanship. Maroligar's successor, for example, was Uvelimun, and every afternoon I would see him taking him into the bush where they would remain for about an hour or two.

The nature of his instruction is a secret, and I obtained no information concerning it. One of the things he learns is the body of myth and legend, because the chiefs are the custodians of the cultural traditions. Aside from the formal instruction, the boy receives informal instruction from the women of his lineage, his maternal grandmother, aunts, as well as his mother. This instruction consists of general admonitions regarding his most important roles. 'Suppose I die, you savvy talk. You like my talk, you talk good that people, (then) find that place. Some man come, you look out good. That man go back, he say: "Very fine that Chief." If a place bad, he say: "Very bad that chief." You all same papa and mamma for people who come here. You give them chow. You no enough that chow, you tell people they bring to you, you give to that people from another place.'

The young boy has impressed upon him, then, his responsibilities, both with respect to his own people, and to visitors. The chief is the patriarch of his people, responsible for their behavior, so that their character and behavior reflects on him. Notice, too, the stress on the opinions of the stranger. Be a good chief, so that the visitor will tell his people of your ability and competence. Also to be emphasized is the stress laid on gift giving, particularly of food.

This lesson is learned well. The chiefs constantly offered their services to us, supplied us with a regular supply of food and coconuts. It was quite apparent from the day we arrived that we were to be the special wards of the chiefs.

Though the chiefs' authority extends over the entire island, each chief has official charge over a particular district, and is responsible for its welfare. Unlike the feeling of friendly rivalry and consciousness of prestige that characterized inter-island interraction, inter-district interraction reveals little, if any, such characteristic.

The responsibilities of the chiefs are much more than political, in our understanding of that term. They are the leaders of Ifaluk, par excellence, in all aspects of culture, not only the narrowly political. This follows from the fact that Ifaluk, like other primitive societies does not conceptualize its culture into different categories, each serving its own end. There is no term, for example, for religion, or politics, or economics, etc., all of these categories being western concepts that we shall use for convenience of

analysis, but which do not exist in the minds of the natives themselves. The very title of this chapter, [16] political organization, is a travesty on native thought. The tamon are the leaders of their people, which means that all social activities are performed under their leadership, and/or with their sanction. All activity is performed becasue the chiefs endorse it, either explicitly or implicitly. But their leadership, or direction, is unobtrusive, and neither their individual personalities, nor their institutionalized behavior corresponds to that of the western politician or statesman.. The chiefs, if I may be permitted an analogy are not only the starters that get the motor of the car running, but they are lubrication, that keeps the motor running without undue friction, the accelerator, the brakes. The chiefs serve, albeit unconsciously, as the guarantors of this culture, as a going concern, without whom it would collapse. And what makes their influence so remarkable is their lack of any mark of office that we are so accustomed to in the west. They possess no external symbol of power nor any punitive power to enforce their 'demands.' I deliberately enclose the term, demands, in quotes because this too, would be a term alien to native mentality. The chiefs do not legislate for the people, nor do they give commands to the people, but rather, they express the will of the people; they articulate the demands of the people. This culture exhibits a real benevolent paternalism. It is the chiefs who know what is best for the people, and their orders are

conceived as the objective articulation of the subjectively felt needs of the society. This is sophisticated, but I think, accurate description of the native view of the chiefs derived from many conversations with many natives. And this, I am sure, is the conception the chiefs have of themselves. Never did I see any indication of self-seeking, of quest for power or prestige. If anything, just the opposite is the case. The chiefs are retiring and selfless, seeking neither honor nor glory. Though, theoretically, their power is absolute, I saw not a single instance of abuse of this power, in the form of demanding of property or gifts or women or privileges. Their leadership is viewed as a vocation, in the Protestant sense of the term, that is, as a service to the society, a moral duty that must be fulfilled. And defection from this ideal would result in great shame. That this conception of themselves is felt by them quite consciously is born out objectively by the Bavelais Moral Ideology Test and by the Stewart Emotional Response Test. The responses to these tests by the five chiefs were almost unanimously alike, and quite different from the responses of the people. All showed a profound personal identification with their people, so that their feelings of happiness or sadness, shame or anger, were determined by the conditions or feelings of their people. If their people were wellfed or were healthy, then they were happy. But if their people were hungry or ill, or if they quarreled or were not industrious, then they were sad. Their consciousness of leadership responsibilities emerged quite clearly from these tests, as well. The activities that were praisworthy or blameworthy were not personal activities, but rather communal ones. If

they performed their duties, saw to it that the people cleaned their yards, planted taro, made rope, etc., they would be praised, but any derelictions in this regard would evoke blame. This observation, in conjunction with their response to those things that cause them shame, namely, to be found wanting in communal responsibilities, not ordering the people to go fishing, or to prepare food, etc., substantiates two further points: they conceive of their office as the fulfillment of responsibilities, and their responsibilities involve the expression of the will of the poeple, not the giving of orders that may or may not coincide with the latter's desires. It serves to emphasize the fact that the people recognize the necessity of engaging in certain social or economic activities, but wait for the chiefs to take the initiative in instigating them, so that if the latter do not do so, they are not done, with the result that the chiefs are to be blamed. These observations are of far reaching significance for Ifaluk personality development, and cultural psychology, points which we shall [17] examine later. Here, I only wish to point out that despite the absence of any of the accoutrement that we associate with democracy, with, on the contrary, all the external signs of despotism, we have as complete a democracy as is possible. The great responsibilities of the chiefs, combined with a concommitant lack of privilege, leaves little room for surprise over the fact that not one young man expressed a desire to be chief. They all informed me, in great earnest, that they would not like to be chiefs, and their reasons, to a man, were that the responsibilities were too great."

28: Spiro--17
116, 622, 226

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"With these remarks in mind, we can now turn to the actual functions of the chiefs. In the first place the entire economic life of Ifaluk is under their direction and supervision. Communal fishing expeditions are never undertaken without their direction or consent. A man may go fishing any time he desires, but only the chiefs are empowered to order the entire village to go fishing. Since fish is a vital part of the native diet, it is important that these trips be successful, so that the chiefs must be well-acquainted with the habits, movements, and habitat of the various species of fish, so as not to order the men on a wild goose hunt. Once the fishing begins, certain men, who are recognized as expert fishermen direct the work, and since two of the chiefs are so recognized, their share in this responsibility is large, but they function not as chiefs, but as fishing experts.

All communally-owned capital goods are manufactured at the orders of the chiefs. Fishing traps and seins, which are vital to the Ifaluk economy are made only when the chiefs order them to be made. Now, it must be realized that every man is fully aware of the importance of replenishing these objects, and yet no one will undertake to do so, or take the initiative in getting others to do so, unless ordered by the chiefs."

28: Spiro--17 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 653, 681 Ifalik

"All public works are undertaken at the chiefs' behests. The building of overwater heads, at the request of the navy; the removal of trash from the courtyards, the cleaning of the bush and public paths, the repair of a canoe-house, the initiative for all these is the responsibility of the chiefs, without whose orders they would not be done.

But his responsibilities do not end with public works or communal economics. Should a private house need repair, or a courtyard be dirty, should a man be indolent or a woman not take care of her taro patch, the chiefs will step in, and order this situation be rectified. Again, this is not viewed as a curtailment of freedom, or as an encroachment on individual rights, for this is part of the chief's responsibilities, the neglect of which, would lead to censure on the part of his people.

Other economic activities, though not initiated by the chiefs, require their permission All construction that requires the cooperation of a number of men, such as a house or an ocean-going canoe cannot be undertaken without first receiving the consent of the chiefs."

28: Spiro--17-18
116, 574, 622, 157

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"But the chiefs have responsibilities other than economic. The chiefs are the official hosts of any traveler to the island. If by chance, the visitor has no kinsmen on Ifaluk, or if he be a dignitary, such as a chief or an American, it is the responsibility of the chief to make his stay as pleasant as possible. Thus, if people gave us gifts of food, they did so as a gesture of friendship, but the chiefs took upon themselves the responsibility of caring for our wants and needs, as part of their duties as chiefs. Not a day would pass when we were not brought food or drinking coconuts by at least one of them, and they were assiduous in [18] dropping in on us to inquire about our welfare, and to ask whether we needed or wanted anything. Of course they, as individuals, were interested in our welfare, but there was little doubt that they were acting as chiefs, as representatives of their people, lest our needs not be satisfied and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' All the chiefs responded in the Stewart Emotional Response Test, that one of the things that would cause them great shame would be a comment by a chief of another atoll to the effect that the Ifaluk chief was a poor host."

28: Spiro--18
116, 622, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chiefs also act as the depositories of the cultural traditions. Myths and legends are almost unknown to the people, but they are transmitted by the chiefs to their successors. This is also true of religious and other cultural values. If one questions a native about any aspect of religion, morality, social and cultural values, he will tell you what he knows, and they say, that for a complete and thorough account you should speak to the chiefs, because they are the ones who really know these things.

Finally, the chiefs are the moral guides of the culture. Ifaluk religion and ethics are not connected as they are in western religion, so that the chiefs, rather than the priest-shaman are charged with the perpetuation of the mores."

28: Spiro--18 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 681, 622, 182, 554 Ifalik

"As in most primitive societies shame and social censureship are the greatest deterrants to immorality. This is particularly true on Ifaluk, where there are no supernatural sanctions. But the ultimate sanctions for moral behavior are the chiefs. It is their approval or disapproval that motivates much of the Ifalukian interpersonal relationships. And this role is felt very consciously by both the chiefs and the people. When discussing the subject of chieftanship, they informed me, that: 'Chief all same pappa this place.... If no chief, all same canoe have no people, canoe turn around. Place, too, by'n by turn around, people fight. Pappa talk to boy, maybe boy no like (i.e., won't obey), for only little bit afraid. But all people afraid chief. Chief work--talk. Chief no talk to people, tell them what they do, all same ship break.'

This is as accurate description of Ifaluk chieftanship as one could want. Besides this very interesting 'ship of state' idea, this statement displays a genuine insight into the real significance of the chiefs in this culture. That the statement reflects not only the chiefs conception of themselves, but also the conception the people have of them, is brought out clearly in the Stewart Emotional Response and Moral Ideology tests, in which the people maintain that they are afraid to be indolent, to steal, or to fight lest they incur the wrath of the chiefs; and conversely, that they are good, generous, etc., because this pleases the chiefs.

This role of being the ultimate sanctioners of the cultural values is very interesting in view of their lack of any punitive power. There are neither police nor prisons on Ifaluk to enforce the mores or punish violations of them. It is true that a murderer or incorrigible thief can be punished by the chiefs by banishment and/or confiscation of property, but such punitive powers must rest on the consent of the people, since they have no physical power to enforce these punishments. What is even more significant is the fact that the mere disapproval of some behavior by the chiefs acts as a sufficient deterrent, and that their approval is one of the strongest motivations for culturally approved behavior."

28: Spiro--18-19
116, 182, 554, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Further reflection on the nature of Ifaluk society makes us pause even longer over this phenomenon. In theocratic societies, or in societies in which the ruler enjoys divine or magical rights or protection, it is understandable that his demands should be respected. But no such concept of supernatural power or protection obtains in Ifaluk. The chief is a man among men, who happens, it is true, to descend [19] from a particular lineage. Add to this the objective fact of the smallness of the island, in which the child knows everyone from the moment that he begins to perceive and distinguish objects, and every one knows every one else as intimately as one person can know another. These people grow up together, they plan and work together and learn very soon the virtues and vices, abilities and foibles of their fellows. Now the chiefs grow up as part of this process. In huge empires the prince lives apart from the commoners, he grows to adulthood in the court, where few people can know him, so that he can maintain the aura of magical greatness. But on Ifaluk this is impossible. The chief is remembered by practically all of the people, as that young foolish kid, who would never obey his parents, or as my friend with whom I participated in a number of pranks, who is a poor fisherman, or inept carpenter. And suddenly he is thrust into the position of authority, at which time he not only receives the respect of his fellows, but becomes the ultimate sanction of their good behavior. This is indeed a perplexing question, and one to which

we shall return in our discussion of Ifaluk personality and psychology.

The people accept the chief's authority without question. One afternoon I asked a group of men why they obeyed the chiefs. This was obviously a very perplexing question for them. Apparently it had never been articulated before. Obedience to the chiefs is just accepted as part of the natural order of things. After stating the question in a number of different ways, I could get only the stock answer: 'We don't know. Before, before, all the same now.' That is, this is part of our tradition, and inheritance from the past, and we accept it. As we continued the discussion, other points were made, however. 'Suppose no have chief, all people fool. (If) chief see people very bad, he tell them "You no make that. No my talk I talk to you, talk before, talk my house, my place." If another man come, see no chief, very bad.'

What is said in this statement is that the chiefs are the ultimate guarantors of the culture, and its values. If there were no chiefs, the people would be 'fools', or 'make bad', that is, they would violate the mores, and the culture would disintegrate. The presence of the chiefs prevents the people from such violation. For, 'If people talk, no somebody afraid. Chief talk, all people afraid.' That is, the people accept the authority of the chiefs, and abide by their reprimands if they commit a wrong. But a reprimand from another would have little effect, because they fear only the chiefs."

28: Spiro--19-20 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-12
116, 622, 182, 115, 554 Ifalik

"When asked why the chiefs elicit this obedience, and no one else, the answer is immediate--because their lineages are 'more high.' This superiority of descent is accepted implicitly. It is not the person is personally superior, has greater ability or knowledge, but that he is descended from the 'royal family.' The obedience, then, is to the status, not the individual. When I asked, for example, how they felt about obeying a young chief, whom they had ordered around when he was a boy, and who now is their superior, though they probably have greater skills and knowledge than he, they expressed surprise. Why not? Isn't he a member of the lineage of chiefs?

No person could remember one instance of disobedience of a chief. 'Men afraid that chief. (If) one man no like talk for chief, very bad man. All people no like. Why he no like talk for chief?'

I might illustrate this point by one incident in which we were involved. One morning Tom, our interpreter, came to us saying that he would not work with us for a few days since the canoe, that he was building with the assistance of some other man, was not being completed rapidly enough because the other men were not indiligent [sic] in their work, and that he would have to devote more time to the work. Later in the day, he came to me, saying that the chiefs had heard of his not working with [20] us and were angry with him. I told him that I wanted him to complete his work as soon as possible and that

both Dr. Burrows and I would rather he worked on his canoe for a few days. But he looked at me very contritely, and in a very pathetic voice, he answered that the chiefs are 'too angry at me', and therefore he was afraid to work on his canoe because he was afraid of the chiefs. Now this is from a man who had lived in Manilla for four years, who was descended from a chiefly lineage himself, and was next in line for a chieftanship, and who often decried the chiefs to me, impugning their abilities, and calling them 'fool fellows' because they had not had the experiences that he had had."

28: Spiro--22
622, 276, 522, 576

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-12
Ifalik

"At the conclusion, Wolptau distributed tobacco and American cigarettes to all the people assembled. The distribution of tobacco is an invariable, unqualifiedly universal feature of Ifaluk social life, it being distributed after every political meeting, religious ceremony, communal work. It is to be noted, also that the cigarettes that Commander Kenney, the Commanding officer on Yap, had given to the chiefs as personal gifts, were not kept by them, but were given to their people. This distribution followed the pattern of all such distributions--the chief would call the name of each district, and any adult male would respond for his district, obtain the tobacco from the chiefs, and then pass it among his fellows--male and female alike. But the cigarettes, Wolptau distributed personally, and as he approached the women, who of course were seated apart from the men, he spoke to them, warning them not to defecate on the ground, but to retire to the lagoon, and if this were too difficult, they were to use a basket for this purpose and then dispose of the facaes in the lagoon. This speech, delivered with a broad grin on his face, evoked wide laughter, and when he repeated it the second time, the entire people burst into a spontaneous cheer. This little incident is very significant for an understanding of Ifaluk chieftanship, and gives real insight fnto the intimate relationship that obtains between chief and people. Some of the psychological implications of this relationship will be

dealt with in another connection, but here I wish to point out the psychological meaninglessness of a bold ethnographic statement to the effect that a society is governed by a chief or chiefs, for this rubric covers a multiplicity of political realities from the formal, West African potentate to the informal, fatherlike person, just described."

28: Spiro--24-25
116, 622, 184, 554

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"As I have pointed out above, informality characterizes the relationship between chiefs and people, there being no overt symbol that might distinguish one from the other to a stranger. The chiefs assume the same economic obligations that the other men have. They participate in communal clean-ups, fishing expeditions, building repairs, and all other work, working with the other men, with no special dispensations of any kind.

Socially, they receive no special recognitions. They are addressed by name, as any other man. When sitting in the canoe-house they occupy no special seat of honor, nor is their arrival or departure signaled by special courtesy. In conversation their opinions are given no greater weight than those of a commoner.' Nor are they treated with any special respect or deference. For example, Dr. Burrows administered anti-dysentary shots to five men when we first arrived, for a period of five days, one of the men being Wolptau. On some days, the men would come at least an hour after the arrival of Wolptau (he was on time, they were late), and he waited till the others came; he not complaining, they not apologizing for having kept him waiting.

Nor do the chiefs attempt to keep themselves aloof from the people. This cameraderie is carried to the extent of Maroligar, the second ranking chief, playing cards with the young men and small boys, and being kidded for making a foolish move.

But despite this informality, when they function ex cathedra, their word is law, and

obedience is immediate. When they sit in the canoe-house adjacent to the fanap, conducting a meeting, no one will enter uninvited, or else will enter through the rear, so as not to intrude upon them in an obtrusive fashion. Furthermore, the entire plot of ground, Atelu, referred to above, is the property of the chiefs, and symolizes the chiefly office (or the government, to use an abstraction foreign to native modes of thinking), so that the village path that traverses the island skirts this section, and unless a person is going to Atelu itself, he will take this circumscribed route. Furthermore, when a person passes Atelu, he pays his respect by bending his entire trunk his hands clasped behind his back. This motor behavior becomes entirely automatic, as it is already inculcated even in the very young children.

The chiefs, also, receive special seats of honor at all religious ceremonies, and no ceremony begins in their absence. Furthermore, mourning at the death of a chief [25] is more extensive than for that of a commoner. On the other hand, as far as I could determine, no special rite commemorates a chief's taking office. His successor merely assumes his responsibilities, and begins to function with no ceremony of coronation."

"The material benefits accruing to the chiefs are minimal. There are informal benefits, of course. After a fishing haul, the chiefs will usually receive the largest fish, though even this is not an invariable proceedure. Of course, visiting travelers often bring gifts for the chiefs, and under both American and Japanese rule the chiefs receive special gifts of cigarettes or paint.

But as far as I could ascertain there are only two institutionalized material rewards. (17)

The first of these benefits is the peremptory right to all turtles. When a person catches a turtle, it is brought to the Fanewang, the canoe-house belonging to the Uelepi lineage, from which stems the first-ranking chiefs, and there it is butchered by the chief, and becomes the sole possession of Uelepi. He distributes some amongst the other chiefs, and to other commoners if he desires.

"17. This, despite the fact that theoretically, as we shall see later, all property is owned by the chiefs, and as such, they could levy any duty or tribute they desired."

The only tribute, or taxes, they receive, is the annual gift of breadfruit and toddy that is presented to the second-ranking chief, of the Somat lineage. He is the chief of the district of Felarik, and twice a year, in the rainy and dry seasons respectively, the men of Felarik bring him en masse bottles of toddy. However this is really a symbolic recognition of his authority, rather than a payment or a levy, because after receiving the toddy, he then redistributes it among the men, retaining very little for himself. I did not witness the offering of breadfruit since it did not occur during our stay, and I omitted to inquire whether it, too, is redistributed, but my guess would be that it is. Thus, even this formal, institutionalized, tribute does not remain in the chief's treasury, but reverts to the people. This redistribution, should be kept in mind for our later discussions, because this role of the chiefs as the givers or redistributors of food and tobacco plays a significant role in Ifaluk culture, having important psychological significance."

28: Spiro--25 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 554, 157 Ifalik

"The most important function served by the chiefs we may conclude, is that of cultural or ethical fathers. It is to the chiefs that the people look for the source of their basic values and for their sanctions and validations. The chiefs, recognize this role, and behave towards their people in a paternal manner. This interpretation comes out very beautifully in the following incidental statement by Tom. I had been collecting folklore from the chiefs, and after finishing the mythology, they told me some stories about some 'fool fellows', Ifalukians, who had responded to certain situations in a very foolish manner. The chiefs told me that I was to keep these stories secret, since the people did not know them, and they preferred that they not be told. I asked them the reason for this secrecy, and they answered that the people would laugh at these foolish acts, and would be ashamed that their own people had committed such stupidities. Tom then added that the chiefs would not laugh or be ashamed, since they are 'all same pappa this place,' and thus would treat them as a parent might treat some ontoward act of his child."

28: Spiro--37 [2]
116, 571, 476, 622, 463

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Another characteristic of cooperative work is the seeming absence of direction or plan. No one has a definite assignment, but fits himself in where he thinks he is needed. To make matters worse, no one individual assumes over-all direction, with the result that everyone shouts orders to everyone else, and men are seen jumping from one station to another, many with the same object in mind. Now when as many as 36 men are working on one canoe, the result is utter chaos and confusion, at least to the observer. But somehow, the end result of this turmoil and absence of plan, is a unified activity, with the end-in-view accomplished, and, what is even more important, with no injuries.

This lack of plan or leadership is patent not only in the actual undertaking itself, but in the absence of foresight in its preparation. Almost invariably something that should have been prepared in advance is remembered all too late in the midst of an intricate engineering job, which precipitates much confusion, until someone finally corrects it. One would think that the men would agree upon some one individual to act as the leader of the work gang, but no one suggests this, and no one will voluntarily take over this job, with the result that there are a number of leaders.

This lack of leadership, I hasten to add, applies only to the actual process of work, not to the general undertaking. There are specialists in construction, trained in engineering principles, who plan the repair that is to be done, and who direct the operations.

It is only in the particularised aspects of the total job, such as hoisting a beam, or lowering a keel that this chaos reigns."

28: Spiro--133 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 595 Ifalik

"Marriage is monogamous, though the informants said that in the past a chief could have two wives. But today not even the chiefs practice polygymy. 'We don't do that in this place.'"

28: Spiro--136 a
116, 562, 611, 591, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"By this time I had become intimate enough with the chiefs, to be able to point up difficulties or problems in their interpretations. I asked whether the two factors of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence did not indicate female superiority. This, they responded triumphantly, proves the superiority of men. For if there were only women in the house, they would live miserable lives. The houses would be small and there would be no fish to eat, since canoe and house construction, as well as fishing, is man's work. Thus if there were no matrilocal residence, the women would only 'chowchow, but no chow fish.'

The fallacy in the argument is obvious, but I admitted its validity, and then pointed out that they had answered only the matrilocal, not the matrilineal objection. To this they looked quite chagrined, and finally said, 'you talk true.' They were then silent for a long time, as if they were all meditating. Finally, Wolpatau, the highest ranking chief, came forth with a new argument, which we all accepted as incontrovertible. Men are superior to women because only men are chiefs, and women cannot be chiefs (unless there are no men in the chiefly lineages)."

28: Spiro--141-142 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 765, 784 Ifalik

"Taboos on working and cooking are much more stringent should the death occur in [142] a chiefly lineage. The immediate family may not work for one month, the clan may not work for ten days, and the entire village must refrain from working for four days. However, the men may fish, which is what they did after the death of Navor, who was a member of a lineage of chiefs. The canoes houses, however, are empty and the women merely sit idly. The men may climb the coconut trees, though they may not climb trees along the beach where they can be seen, but must go into the bush."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Ted, of course, was in charge of the census operation. Tom acted as interpreter. Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Maroligar, the number two chief, went along, giving the highest possible official sanction to the procedure. The party also included a young man named Bakalimar—shortened to Bakal for ordinary purposes—who had been assigned by the chiefs to work with us, acting as general handyman and, most importantly, as dishwasher. (We did our own cooking; or, perhaps more accurately, our own can-opening.)

We were also accompanied by Tony. Tony was from the atoll of Ulithi, some 375 miles northwest of Ifaluk. He was a young man of perhaps eighteen, and had come to Ifaluk with his younger brother on the trade ship, some months before our arrival, to visit relatives. The Coast Guard had a station on Ulithi, where Tony had worked, and where he had learned fluent English. He was of no use as an interpreter in the census operation, however, because of his lack of familiarity with the Ifaluk household and clan arrangements, and because his youth made the questioning seem almost impertinent. The job required the maturity, dignity and local knowledge possessed by Tom. Tony's name, Antonio, was official, because Ulithi had been converted by a Roman Catholic Mission some years earlier—a process that included the adoption of Christian names.

The houses of Ifaluk were all on the two largest islets of the atoll, Falalap and Falarik, which were separated by a shallow and rather narrow pass. The Fan Nap, near the southern end of Falarik, was roughly in the center of the inhabited area. We started the census with the southernmost houses of Falalap, with the idea of working gradually northward until the count, household by household, was finished.

Three households—twenty-six people—were catalogued that first morning. Tom and Ted would lead the way into a household area, going inside if it was drizzling, or sitting on mats in the open during dry intervals. The available people of the household would gather about—and the available people included all of the men, all of the children except those who got scared at the strange activity and ran away, and all of the women except those under temporary quarantine in a menstrual hut.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

353 sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

183 125 The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the [516] people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the [600] presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was super- [502] ficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

291 There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

855 861 The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

854 The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

qualms. He asked Tom if he could not arrange a crew to take his wa terach, sea-going canoe, and go along. Tom said he could, but that he would have to get permission from the chiefs.

When the decision was made to sail that Monday morning, Ted had high hopes that he could go along. He made it seem very simple. I didn't know whether to volunteer to go along or not; I don't know whether he would have taken me anyway, but I was scared at the prospect of having to make some decision. But the decision was taken away from us.

We heard Maroligar blowing on his conch shell down by the beach, to call the chiefs together. Shortly after, the three navigators from Satawal came to pay us a farewell call, along with Fagolier, Maroligar and Tom. Tom announced to Ted the chiefly decision:

"Those chief 'e say 'no'. Suppose too much wind. Suppose typhoon 'e come. That canoe 'e go roll, roll, roll. Bimeby fall down in salt water. You *die*.

"Suppose you want go 'nother island, 'e got steamer. 'E got that Navy boat. You take 'im."

I felt a great sense of relief. Ted took it nobly, though surely his last chance for this great anthropological scoop was going with those canoes. He couldn't question the chiefly decision: but he could at least use the incident to show that chiefly government on Ifaluk was operating, and that the chiefs felt secure enough to deny a request backed by the enormous prestige of an anthropologist representing the occupying American power.

Ted decided he would at least get as thorough a description of the embarkation as he could. He put a case of corned beef in the rowboat and we set out for Falalap, Bakal and a friend at the oars and Don and me armed to the teeth with cameras. We got there just in time to see the last of the three big canoes rolled down into the water, and to follow the provisioning and stowing of the baggage—mostly big wooden chests that looked as though they might be of Japanese manufacture. Finally the passengers started to embark. The few women and children among these crawled into little thatched huts built out over the water on each canoe, on the opposite side from the outriggers. It certainly looked like cramped quarters.

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123 Ted dealt out his forty-eight cans of beef as a going-away present.
[22] The chief palu acknowledged this with a short but elegant-sounding speech.

We rowed out to the pass to watch the canoes put up sail when they had passed out of the lagoon—a pretty sight. Three sturdy canoes
[50?] starting out confidently across the Pacific to hit another tiny atoll—perhaps no staggering distance away, but still something to find without instruments.

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CHAPTER IV

FISHING—AND BAKALIZING

TUESDAY morning was started by one of the chiefs blowing a series of resonant blasts, down by the lagoon shore, on a horn made from a large Triton shell. This was the signal for a general assembly. The chiefs had decided that the island needed cleaning up, and word had gone round that the start should be made today. The ground of the coconut grove along the lagoon had been littered with trash ever since the storm, particularly noticeable on the fine lawn of Japanese temple grass around the Fan Nap.

The cleaning was unhurried. The ground was swept with short brooms made from coconut leaves or from old coconut flower stalks with the branches held together by a binding of sennit cord. Much of the sweeping was done from a comfortable sitting or squatting position and the trash was gathered into neat piles to be burned later. The clean-up started at the south end of the island, the people gradually working north. At noon, when about half of the Rauau area was finished, Maroligar again sounded the trumpet and everyone knocked off for the day.

Don and I spent the morning trying to get things more organized around camp. There were Don's drums to be unpacked. He now had a typewriter and a small but very useful reference library and all sorts of goodies like specimen jars, thermometers, hydrometers for measuring salinity, and extra trousers which had been used for packing material. I promptly scrounged a pair of trousers. I had come to the

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the flies, and during the evening, to get away from the mosquitoes. Ted stuck to the Fan Nap for writing up his notes—but carefully protected with long trousers tied around the ankles, and with coils of Japanese "punk" burning to exorcise the mosquitoes. He had great faith in that burning punk.

We decided to start the plant collecting that afternoon, since the drying cabinet was ready. It was quite an expedition—Yani, Tony, Bakal, Don and me. The idea was to try to collect not only the plants, but information about them. Tony, as a Ulithi man, didn't know the local plant lore, but he was a good interpreter. Yani's English was rapidly gaining in fluency, however, and he and Don, particularly, were able to understand one another almost from the beginning without outside help. Yani did know the local plants—their names and their uses—and Don would jot down this information while I fussed with the plant press itself. Bakal, as usual, was general handy man.

The clean-up was continued next morning and pretty well finished by noon, when everyone on Falarik gathered on the lawn outside the Fan Nap for a communal meal. "Feast" is probably too strong a word for the meals that invariably followed any community activity. The food was lavish enough, contributed by all of the participating households, but it did not differ markedly from the everyday diet.

In this instance, Ted decided that the occasion was important enough for him to contribute one of the cases of corned beef that he had brought along for just such purposes. The canned beef was a greatly appreciated delicacy, called "carawao," which would seem to stem from the Spanish word for water-buffalo, carabao. Several Ifalukian words reflected Spain's dominance in the Carolines in the 19th century —the word "cat" for instance, which hardly differed from the Spanish gato.

The opened case of beef was put before Maroligar, the number two chief, but the distribution of the cans was carried out by Toroman, the number three chief, who always seemed to take over when there was anything to be divided among the island households. He called out the names of the households, tossing the cans to representatives of each; some cans were set aside for Falalap (which was having its own clean-up), and there was a small, separate pile for the chiefs.

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pulled out and dumped, ready for distribution. This, as always, was the special function of Toroman. Five big red fish were put in a pile by themselves, for the chiefs, and there was another pile of special kinds of fish, mostly trigger-fish, set aside by custom for the old men. The remainder of the catch was sorted out roughly by size into piles of large, medium-sized and small fish. In the meanwhile, men representing each of the various households gathered around, smoking and chatting. All had freshly-woven coconut baskets for their share of the catch. These baskets, quickly made from the green palm frond, were the ordinary packaging material of the island.

In the first round, Toroman tossed to each man two of the larger and three of the middle-sized fish. Then each got ten to twenty fish from the middle-sized and small piles, the number depending on the size of the fish and the number of people in the household. Then every family got one more large fish.

Don and Yani weighed a few specimens of the different kinds and sizes of fish, and calculated that the total catch was about 630 pounds. About forty pounds of the smallest fish were thrown out as too small for use, or because they were of kinds considered inedible. The seine catch as distributed, amounted to about two pounds of fish per individual inhabitant.

Everyone had fish that evening, and very good it was. Several of the most prized kinds of fish were given to us. These were expertly fileted by Bakal, and equally expertly fried by Ted in bacon grease after being rolled in corn meal. Ted was a master at this. Jobs around the Fan Nap were generally pretty equally shared, but Don and I always tried to maneuver Ted into the fish frying job—not, for once, out of indolence, but because he really did have a touch. The Ifalukians generally roasted fresh fish like these whole over coals from small coconut-husk fires, and they were awfully good that way, too.

This kind of fishing, with giant rope-and-coconut-leaf tinsel dragged over the coral bottom of the outer reef, was called rop fishing. Whether Ifalukian rop had any connection with English rope was questionable. Ted thought the similarity coincidence, since the rop fishing must have been an ancient practice, long antedating any contact with English.

The Ifalukians, like the people of all of the old Micronesian and

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RIGHT Sagolimar, who often worked with us.

LEFT Gauaisig, navigator and canoe builder.

BELOW Toroman, the number three chief and official divider of food.

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imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence. 643

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen. 123 643 [269]

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load. [412]

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained. 504 643 123 [622] [931]

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did. 123 535 643

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,